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Monday, December 12, 1932

WHOLE No. 699

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# The Classical Weekly

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WHOLE No. 699

# THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THIRD-CENTURY

I have recently heard it said that now more than ever is the study of the ancients a refuge for the fleeing romantic. Persons who are discouraged at the prospect offered by contemporary politics and contemporary economics, and who are too timid and too puzzled to contemplate any order different from the present apparently unsatisfactory order find a retreat, it is maintained, in the asylum of antiquity, for the student of ancient literature and of ancient art may exercise free choice in considering or avoiding such topics as ancient warfare, ancient economics, ancient superstitions, and injustices, however manifest, abate their cry after two millennia. But even a partial knowledge of the life of a gifted people in antiquity must broaden the horizon and sharpen the discernment for appreciating the recurrent problems of mankind in another people and in another age. Even the fleeing romantic whose preoccupation is with ancient literature and who shuns the ancillary disciplines of ancient government and ancient economics is sometimes startled from his retreat by something so forcefully suggestive of some modern problem as to refuse to be ignored. It is to such a parallel that I wish to direct attention.

The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines the word communism as follows2: "... Its general use is to describe the practise of or belief in the desirability of the social control of economic life, including the social ownership of property..." To apply the term communism, or even democracy, to Sparta, a state in which not more than ten per cent. of the inhabitants enjoyed the rights of citizenship, is, at first sound, something of an absurdity. But, if we agree to forget for the moment the unenfranchised helots and the perioeci, we shall see that within the narrowly limited body of Spartiates the rules of life and the constitution of the State are clearly suggestive of communism. Citizenship in Sparta depended on possession of land which had been granted by the State. Such land could not be alienated by sale or by gift; it apparently reverted to the State upon the failure of legal heirs3. The institution of syssitia4, or common meals, the rearing of children under the supervision of the State, and the numerous other regulations of the Spartan discipline had the effect of subordinating the lives of individuals to the welfare of the com-

The most engaging account of the Spartan system is that in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, but for a century scholars have realized that Plutarch is telling the simple truth when he says in his opening paragraph that no one knows anything definitely about Lycurgus. Plutarch's details are drawn from a series of writings which were called forth by the bad social and economic conditions in the third and the fourth centuries and which helped to bring about the revolution which forms the subject of this paper. Lycurgus himself has been explained as an hypostasis of Apollo or Zeus as a wolf-god or a lightgods, and the Spartan institutions have been proven to be the development of ancient usage, not the innovation of any individuals. But, even if Plutarch derives his Lycurgan institutions from idealizing reformers of the third century, Sparta's communistic tendencies may be abundantly proven from more reliable sources. Thus Thucydides<sup>7</sup> speaks of the general striving of the rich Lacedaemonians to assimilate their way of life to that of the poor. In a single treatise so good an authority as Aristotle has passages like the following8:

The Lacedaemonians, for example, use one another's slaves, and horses, and dogs, as if they were their own; and when they lack provisions on a journey, they appropriate what they find in the fields throughout the country.

. For the sons of the poor <in Lacedaemonia> are brought up with the sons of the rich, who are educated

ment of the question is that in G. F. Schömann-J. H. Lipsius, Griechische Alterthümer, 14.220 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1897): "... Eigentümer <der Kleroi> waren <die Spartiaten> nicht...da ihnen darüber kein freies Dispositionsrecht zustand. Das Eigentum verblieb dem Staate, von dem die Besitzer damit nur gleichsam belehnt waren..." (i. e. "The Spartiates were not owners of their allotments, since..."). An interesting controversy among nineteenth century British Hellenists on the question of Spartan agrarian laws may be noticed. George Grote had maintained in his history, 2,338-420, especially 400-402 (1860), that the so-called Lycurgan laws were only the product of the imagination of third-century reformers. That the agrarian laws had actually been in force was maintained by J. S. Blackie, Horae Hellenicae, 235-254 (London, Macmillan, 1874).

41t is interesting to note that Philo Iudaeus, Quod Omnis Probus Liber 12-13, uses syssilia to describe the common meals of the

'It is interesting to note that Philo Iudaeus, Quod Omnis Probus Liber 12-13, uses syssiiis to describe the common meals of the Essene communities: '... No one has his private house, but shares his dwelling with all.... They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common garments, common food eaten in syssiiis. This was made possible by their practice of putting whatever they each carned day by day into a common fund, out of which also the sick were supported when they could not work...'

A bibliography on the Lycurgus question is given in Georg Busolt, Griechische Geschichte, 12,369, note 1 (Gotha, P. A. Perthes, 1893). See especially P. Foucart, Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres 42 (1918), 12-29.

The evidence is best summarized in Martin P. Nilsson, Die Grundlagen des Spartanischen Lebens, Klio 12 (1912), 308-340. The syssilia, for example, seem to be survivals of the primitive bachelor's house'; see H. J. Rose, Primitive Culture in Greece, 122 (London, Methuen, 1925). For a review, by Professor A. D. Fraser, of Professor Rose's book, see The Classical Weekly 20.42. C. K.>. 71.6.

\*Politics 2.5, 1263 a. 4.9, 1294 b. I use the translation by Benjamin Jowett, Revised <br/>by W. D. Ross> (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1921. The pages of this translation are not numbered).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This paper was read at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Central High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 6-7, 1932.

School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 0-7, 1932.

34.81 (New York, Macmillan, 1931). A more convenient definition, perhaps, is the following from H. Sidgwick, Principles of Political Economy, 173 (London, Macmillan, 1883): ". The most useful way in which we can employ the terms Communism and Communistic.. is to restrict them to those schemes or measures of governmental interference for equalizing distribution which discard or override the principle that a labourer's remuneration should be proportional to the value of his labour..."

Whether or not property in Sparta was socially owned is a much mooted question. See Georg Busolt, Griechische Staatskunde. 144, and notes (Munich, Beck, 1920). For Spartan constitutional history see the same work, Zweite Hallte..., Bearbeitet von Heinrich Swobods, 2.633-737, and especially, for our purpose, 722 (1926); A. H. J. Greenidge, A. Handbook of Greek Constitutional History, 77-113 (London, Macmillan, 1896). A reasonable state-

in such a manner as to make it possible for the sons of the poor to be educated like them. A similar equality prevails in the following period of life, and when the citizens are grown up to manhood the same rule is observed; there is no distinction between the rich and poor. In like manner they all have the same food at their public tables, and the rich wear only such clothing as any poor man can afford.

Polybius is a generally trustworthy writer, and hostile to the communistic idea9. It is worthwhile, therefore, to hear his report10:

. The peculiar features of the Spartan state are said to be first the land laws by which no citizen may own more than another, but all must possess an equal share of the public land; secondly their view of money-making; for, money being esteemed of no value at all among them, the jealous contention due to the possession of more or less is utterly done away with.

Institutions similar to those of Sparta are to be found also in Crete, whether because of borrowing or because of common Dorian descent11. Aristotle12 says that the Tarentines (Dorians) allowed their poor to partake in common of everything which was needful for them. The communistic practices on the island of Lipara<sup>13</sup> have also been derived, though without much likelihood14, from primitive Dorian institutions. Be that as it may, the colony in Lipara is the earliest recorded instance of a practical communism in the Greek world. The account of this settlement is given by Diodorus Siculus<sup>15</sup>, and is sufficiently interesting for me to offer a translation of the relevant passage:

. . Certain Cnidians and Rhodians, being ill pleased by the harshness of the Asiatic kings, determined to despatch a colony. And so they set up as their leader Pentathlon the Cnidian, who traced his ancestry to Hippotes, the son of Heracles: this happened in the fiftieth Olympiad, when Epitelidas the Laconian won the footrace <580 B. C.> . . . When they had sailed to Lipara and had there chanced upon a friendly reception, they were persuaded to settle in common with the inhabitants of the island, there being about five hundred survivors from Aeolus. Thereafter, when the Tyrrhenians made raids by sea, they prepared a navy to combat them. They divided themselves into two parts. The one part cultivated the islands, which they had made common property; the other part was under arms against the raiders. Their property too they arms against the raiders. owned in common, and they took their meals in common. In this communistic way of life < κοινωνικώς βιούντει> they persisted for a length of time. Thereafter Lipara, where their city was, was partitioned, but

the remaining islands they continued to cultivate in common. Eventually they divided the islands up for periods of twenty years, and repeated this division whenever the twenty-year periods passed . . .

It may well be that the system here described is only a military communism, called forth by a peculiar combination of circumstances, of a kind which may be paralleled16 in other parts of the world. But the habits of thought which made such an arrangement possible seem to have been innate in the Hellenic peoples. Throughout Greece traces of a communistic way of thinking are to be found. Professor Alfred Zimmern<sup>17</sup> contrasts the normal Greek view and the normal modern view in the following words:

We must think ourselves back into a world in which public ownership, and even complete communism, seem, to serious people, more natural and satisfactory and in harmony with the past than the 'absolute rights' of the individual property-owner, in which it was the Conservatives and reactionaries who were preaching the doctrines of William Morris's News from Nowhere and the sentimental Socialists, while it was the Radicals who were timidly beginning, not indeed to proclaim, but to act upon the doctrine which still survives among our Rip van Winkles that a free-born citizen may 'do what he likes with his own'.

The words of a sensitive poet are not the best proof for the general attitude of his audience, but they may be introduced as evidence. In the Phoenissae (555-556) Euripides has Iocasta say:

#### ούτοι τὰ χρήματ' ίδια κέκτηνται βροτοί, τά τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.

Mortals hold their possessions not in fee: We are but stewards of the gifts of God18.

It follows that, even if the communistic elements in the Spartan constitution as presented in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus all derive from fourth-century and thirdcentury writers, we may say that the provisions of the imaginary Lycurgan constitution were not out of harmony with Greek feeling.

But why were the fourth-century and the thirdcentury writers from whom Plutarch drew so eager to invent ideal constitutions and to father them on Lycurgus? The answer is to be found in the changes in economic and social life which the Greek peoples, and especially the Spartans, underwent during the period19. The rigid conditions governing citizenship at Sparta were bound to decrease the total number of citizens. Many were killed in war; many were unable to pay their contributions to the syssitia, and so lost their allotments and their citizenship<sup>20</sup>. Probably shortly after the Peloponnesian War came the law of the Ephor Epitadeus, which permitted to everyone free gift and

See below the paragraph to which the notes numbered 71-74 are

attached. 186,38,3-4. I use the translation by W. R. Paton, in The Loeb Classical Library, 3.373 (1923).

11Por Cretan institutions see Busolt-Swoboda, 2.737-758, and Greenidge, 115-121 (see note 3, above). The best ancient passage is Aristotle, Politics 2.10, 1272 a.

12Dollitics 2.10, 1272 a.

Greeninge, 119-11 (see note 3, above). The best ancient passage is Aristotle, Politics 2.10, 1272 a.

"Politics 6.5, 1320 b.

"The island lies between Italy and Sicily. In modern times it is used for the detention of political prisoners—mulantur tempora: see Francesco Nitti, Escape (New York, Putnam's, 1930). The historical character of the communism on ancient Lipara is shown by T. Reinach, Le Collectivisme des Grecs de Lipari, Revue des Études Grecques 3 (1890), 86-96.

"The question is discussed by Robert von Pöhlmann, Geschichte der Sozialismus in der Antiken Welt, Dritte Auflage... von Friedrich Oertel, 1.37, notes (Two volumes, Munich, Beck, 1925). This book is an invaluable collection of material, but its conclusions are to be carefully weighed; Pöhlmann is extremely Tory, if one may use that word of a German. The book will be cited hereafter simply as Pöhlmann. <For a review, by Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., of this book see The Classical Weekley 22.181-183, C. K.>.

18.9.0. The passage is most probably from Timaeus, the historian of Sicily, and is reliable. See Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte der Griechischen Literature, Zweiter Teil, Erste Halfte, 222 (Munich, Beck, 1920). Compare Pöhlmann, 1.37.

<sup>&</sup>quot;See Pöhlmann, 1.39-40.

"The Greek Commonwealth, Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athenst, 287 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924. < For notices of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, 5.117-118, 20.34. C. K.>). It must be said that Pöhlmann (see note 14, above) is throughout definitely against this view, as against the view quoted from Schömann-Lipsius in note 3, above.

"The translation is that by A. S. Way, in The Loeb Classical Library, 3.180.

<sup>18</sup> The translation is that by A. S. Way, in the Lord Classical Library, 3,389.

19 A full, recent account of Sparta is the article Sparta in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Zweite Reihe, 3,1265-1528 (1929). The period I am here concerned with is covered in 1427-1440.

18 See E. Cavaignac, La Population du Péloponnèse aux Ve et IVe Siècles, Klio 12 (1912), 261-280. The graphic curve given on page 271 is eloquent for the reduction in the number of citizens between Plataea and Leuctra.

free bequest of his house and his land21. Even now sale was not permitted; by the time of Aristotle, however, it seems to have been legal, though disgraceful, to sell one's property. The removal of this restriction resulted in the concentration of land in the hands of women, through inheritance, dowry, or voluntary transfer. In Aristotle's time two-fifths of the land was held by women<sup>23</sup>. By the time of Agis IV (244 B. C.), Plutarch<sup>23</sup> tells us, there did not remain above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of whom about a hundred possessed land. Furthermore, after the Peloponnesian War there was a great increase of wealth in Sparta24. The rich Spartans were so very rich as to give them the reputation of being the wealthiest of the Greeks25: χρυσίον δέ και άργύριον ούκ έστιν έν πασι Ελλησιν δσον έν Aaxedaluon. The rest of the population, on the other hand, was wretchedly poor. Sparta provides only a clearer case of the miserable conditions which the poor all over the Greek world were beginning to experience in the third century. Food prices and house rents rose higher, wages dropped lower, work became scarcer26.

For the history of the human spirit the most significant change that came with the Hellenistic Age, largely as the result of Cynic and Stoic teaching, was the emergence of man as an individual rather than as part of the polis. Social injustice was therefore bound to create unrest, and the statesmen of even the fourth century were obsessed by the fear of revolution. One reason why the well-to-do turned to Macedonia is that Macedonia was the champion of the existing order. The treaties between Alexander and the cities of the League of Corinth stipulate that Macedonia and the League should suppress, in any League city, any movement for the abolition of debts, division of land, confiscation of personal property, or liberation of slaves to assist a revolution27.

Wherever in history there has been widespread misery on the part of the poor while wealth and consequent luxury were concentrated in the hands of the rich, the result has been revolutionary agitation and sometimes change in government. Instances will occur to anyone. In Palestine in the eighth pre-Christian century (I retreat here safely to antiquity), the temporary pause of Assyria in its drive toward the West was the occasion for economic expansion, and the rich became much richer and the poor poorer. The situation called forth the prophet Amos, who inveighed against those that oppressed the poor for silver and the needy for the price of a pair of shoes.

The prophets regularly held up the ancient days of the Exodus from Egypt as the ideal period from which Israel had backslid. In the Hellenistic world the Stoic teachers were the preachers of social justice. They, too, pointed their arguments by reference to the better conditions of an earlier day, even if they read into the ancient period, as indeed the prophets likely did, circumstances more ideal than actually existed.

Ever since Hesiod, Greek literature had looked back upon a golden age, and stories of peoples remote in time or in space had always excited interest. On the other hand, the quest of a 'best constitution' was a tradition of political inquiry in Greece28. Quite naturally, therefore, religious teachers and philosophers who were zealous to reform the social order came to employ stories of remote peoples as vehicles for their doctrines29. Probably Aristeas of Proconnesus, of whom Herodotus tells such strange tales, wrote his fantastic poem on the one-eyed Arimaspians in the sixth century as a means of promoting the religion of Apollo30. The philosophers pictured ideal states less fantastic but equally and frankly fanciful, in order to provide a tangible setting for new doctrines proposed or old doctrines reinterpreted or reemphasized. The Republic of Plato falls into this class. Indeed, there may already have existed similar works, for the Ecclesiazusae of Aristophanes, which clearly parodies some of the ideas set forth in the Republic, was produced before the Republic was published31. In his Atlantis32, on the other hand, Plato gives us an example of the true Utopia, that is, a description purporting to depict an actual place, with the political and social innovations introduced incidentally. From the century following Plato's day we have fragmentary remains of descriptions of several such Utopias, suggestive of William Morris or H. G. Wells. Such are the Meropis of Theopompus<sup>33</sup>, 'The Sacred Chronicle' of Euhemerus<sup>34</sup>, and the 'Sun State' of Iambulus35. From Iambulus's

<sup>18</sup>See W. L. Newman, The Politics of Aristotle, 1.85 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1887).

<sup>29</sup>For the combination of ethnographic narratives with political idealizations see Erwin Rohde, Der Griechische Roman<sup>3</sup>, 210–300 (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Hartel, 1914; this work will hereafter be cited as Rohde). From the abundant literature on Utopias I would mention Alfred Doren, Wunschräume und Wunschzeiten, Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-1925, 158–205; Lewis Mumford. The Story of Utopias (New York, Boni and Liveright, 1922); Edgar Salin, Platon und die Griechische Utopie (Munich and Leipzig, Duncker und Humboldt, 1921; this work will hereafter be cited as Salin).

<sup>20</sup>For Aristeas see A. Croiset and M. Croiset, Histoire de la Littérature Grecque, 2<sup>3</sup>,482–484. The passage in Herodotus is 4.14–15. The treatise On the Sublime cites a considerable fragment of Aristeas.

<sup>21</sup>James Adam, The Republic of Plato, 1.345–355 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1902) discusses the question fully. See also G. C. Field, Plato and his Contemporaries, 5 (London, Methuen, 1930), and Gilbert Norwood, Greek Comedy, 269 (Boston, John W. Luce and Co., 1932).

1930), and Gilbert Norwood, Greek Comedy, 269 (Boston, Medmed W. Luce and Co., 1932).

#For such a view of Atlantis see Rohde, 212-213. A sober scholar must find it impossible to believe in the actual existence of Atlantis. That a learned mystic may believe in it may be seen from Dmitri Merejkowski, The Secret of the West, translated by John Cournos (New York, Brewer, Warren, and Putnam, 1931).

#Rohde, 218-235; Salin, 199-207. The fragments, largely from Aelian and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, may be read in Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (Berlin, Weidmann, 1929, 1930). For the texts see Part II B, 526-617; for the commentary see Part II D, 331-403.

#Rohde, 237-241; Salin, 220-334. The text is chiefly in Diodorus Siculus 5.41-46. Other fragments are in Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, 1.300-313 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923). The same author has an article on Euhemerus in Pauly-Wissowa, 6.952-662 (1907).

#Rohde, 241-260; Salin, 235-241; W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation, 113 (see note 26, above); W. Kroll, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 9.681-683 (1914).

this paper.

3 Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation, 112 (see note 26, above).

<sup>&</sup>quot;See Busolt-Swoboda, 2.722, and Greenidge, 90-92 (see note 3. above), "Politics 2.9, 1270 a. "Agis 5. Plutarch's Lives of Agis and Cleomenes are drawn from

<sup>&</sup>quot;Agis 5. Plutarch's Lives of Agis and Cleomenes are drawn from Phylarchus, who was enthusiastically in favor of the revolutionary programme, and was, besides, addicted to rhetoric; nevertheless his statements are reliable. See note 44, below.

"See G. Kazarow, Zur Geschichte der Sozialen Revolution in Sparta, Klio 7 (1907), 45-31. Part of the evidence presented in this article is the passage cited in the next sentence in the text above.

"Platol, Alcibiades 122 E-123 A.

"See W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisations, 110-111, and references (London, Arnold, 1930). This excellent book, the same author's chapter (XXIII) in The Cambridge Ancient History, 7.739-762 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1928), and his lecture. The Social Question in the Third Century, pages 108-140 of a volume entitled The Hellenistic Age (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1923), provide the best discussions of the subject of this paper.

fascinating tale, easily accessible in six chapters of Diodorus Siculus<sup>36</sup>, Thomas Campanella, about 1600, probably derived at least the title of his Civitas Solis. In 'The True History' Lucian parodies Iambulus, after praising his work in the following significant language<sup>37</sup>:

Iambulus's Oceanica is full of marvels: the whole thing is a manifest fiction, but at the same time pleasant reading. Many other writers have adopted the same plan, professing to relate their own travels, and describing monstrous beasts, savages, and strange ways of The fount and inspiration of this humour is the Homeric Odysseus...

In Iambulus's 'Sun State' the people shared equally in work, in produce, in the offices of State (which they held in rotation), even in wisdom. Wealth, ambition, class war were impossible, because all men were free and equal, and happiness did not require to be pursued.

Iambulus merely clothed with flesh and blood and so popularized the ideals of Stoic communism which Zeno, the prophet38 of the Stoic dispensation, had set forth in his Republic39, the first of his published works. In Stoic teachings on political philosophy the terms ομόνοια, κοινωνία, and lobrys393 are so strongly emphasized and so frequently recurrent as to become almost slogans; as such they are strikingly suggestive of fraternité, liberté, égalité. That Stoic doctrine, if not Stoic slogans, exercised a deep influence on the philosophers of the French revolution is demonstrable; the great intermediary was Cicero, chiefly in the third book of his De Officiis10. In the Hellenistic world Stoic teaching gave light and leading to many. Furthermore, in a state like Sparta, which was disrupted by the contrast of mammonism and pauperism, to use Pohlmann's expression41, the rise of communistic sentiment was inevitable. All things considered, it would have been more remarkable if such sentiment had failed to make itself felt. As in other critical periods in Greek history oracles were resorted to in support of the arguments of one or another party. An oracle attributed to Lycurgus, but really emanating from one of the later reform writers, who were fond of using supposedly ancient oracles to give credit to their doctrines, said : ή φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν όλει άλλο δέ

(To be concluded)

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Moses Hadas

M2.55-60.
The True History. 3. I quote from the translation by H. W. Powler and F. G. Fowler. The Works of Lucian of Samosata, 2.137 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1905); the italics are, of course, mine.

\*\*See my remarks in The Classical Weekly 25 (1931), 25, second column.

second column.

\*\*The fragments are in J. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, 1.60–62, Numbers 250–271 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1905). The fullest ancient account of Zeno is, of course, that in Diogenes Laertius 7.1–150. For significant passages about his Republic or from it see Diogenes 7.4, 32–34, 121; they may be found in The Loeb Classical Library translation of Diogenes, by R. D. Hicks, 2115, 145, 227 (1025). On the Republic see especially Salin, 181–187 (as cited in note 20, above), and E. V. Arnold, Roman Stoicism, 66–67 (Cambridge At the University Press, 1911). A sympathetic account of Stoic doctrine is to be found in Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation?, 305–300 (see note 26, above); compare E. Zeller-W. Nestle, Grundriss der Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie, 273–278 (Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1928).

\*\*BaThe Stoics speak against Δελευθερία. We thus get, by impli-

39a The Stoics speak against dreheveepla. We thus get, by impli-

cation, έλευθερία = liberté.

\*See Th. Zielinski, Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte<sup>1</sup>, 232-267 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912).

\*See Schmid-Stahlin, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, 1,360 and note (Munich, Beck, 1929).

The Rhetoric of Aristotle: An Expanded Translation, With Supplementary Examples for Students of Composition and Public Speaking. By Lane Cooper. New York: D. Appleton and Company (1932). Pp. xlviii + 259.

REVIEWS

Professor Lane Cooper's official title is Professor of the English Language and Literature in Cornell University, but he has long been known as an ardent Hellenist whose scholarly interests and researches have often been concerned with the literature and the civilization of ancient Greece.

In Aristotle's writings in the fields of rhetoric and poetics Professor Cooper has been particularly interested because of his conviction that these works have special value for students of English. But these treatises, even in English, are not easy reading. To aid in their more general comprehension Professor Cooper had published a translation of the Poetics1 in which, to further his purpose, he took the liberty of dividing and expanding the original text. He did not use explanatory notes, placed at the bottom of the page or put in an appendix. The procedure he did adopt he sets forth as follows2:

The reader that I have in mind may not be ver systematic in the use of scholarly apparatus; he might even neglect the assistance of a foot-note. In order to perform my intended office for him, I have not scrupled to expand the wording in passages where, if unalert, he might otherwise advance too quickly... I have generally been willing to delay the reader at the risk of circumlocution, or by explicit repetition of a thought which is implicitly carried along in the Greek, and have even dared to interrupt the sequence by comments, long or short, where my students in the past have gone astray . . .

The method above indicated has likewise been followed in this new translation of the Rhetoric. To render the abbreviated and condensed original text more intelligible to Greekless students of public speaking and of the art of prose and to try "to open <to them> the greatest of all books on the philosophy and technique of persuasion..." Professor Cooper has added "every reasonable device...that might assist them in reading <the Rhetoric > as a book in English..." Thus in his 'translation' he has supplied captions, references, definitions, running explanations, and "even examples, interlarded in the text itself..."

It is mainly for these reasons that Professor Cooper has added another English version of the Rhetoric, a work which had already been translated into English by Buckley (1850), Welldon (1886), Jebb (1909), Roberts (1924), and Freese (1926)4.

'Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry: An Amplified Version with Supplementary Illustrations for Students of English (Boston, Ginn, 1913; now published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York). «For a review of this work, by J. R. Wheeler, see The CLASSICAL WEEKLY, 7.40. C. K.>.

'See the Preface, vi-vii, of the work named in note I, above.

'Por the quotations in this paragraph, see Professor Cooper's Preface, vii.

Preface, viii.

Preface, viii.

\*I give some details here concerning these works: Theodore Alois Buckley. Aristotle, Rhetoric and Poetics, Translated (Bohn's Classical Library, London, George Bell and Sons, 1850); J. E. C. Welldon, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, Translated, With an Analysis and Critical Notes (London, 1886); Richard Claverhouse Jebb, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, A Translation, Edited, With an Introduction and Supplementary Notes, by John Edwin Sandys (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1909); W. Rhys Roberts, Rhetorica, CTranslated>, in Volume XI of The Works of Aristotle Translated Into

Professor Cooper's method has its obvious merits and equally obvious disadvantages. The Greek text of the Rhetoric, abbreviated and condensed as it is, and with its technical vocabulary, is not easy reading—not even for graduate students, as I know from personal experience in teaching the Rhetoric. Professor Cooper's expanded version is continuous and intelligible. His added material is enclosed in brackets. Yet it is not always easily and immediately evident, particularly in the case of longer interpolations, what is Aristotle and what is Professor Cooper, since the type used is the same for both. In consequence, readers who want to know at once just what Aristotle says will prefer that explanatory material be relegated to footnotes.

Preceding the translation are three pages (xi-xiii) devoted to Witnesses to the Value of the Rhetoric, eighteen pages (xvii-xxxv) devoted to an Introduction, in which there is a discussion of the Rhetoric as a whole and of certain basic terms and principles therein (these latter are applied to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address), and, finally, an Analysis of the Three Books of the Rhetoric (xxxvii-xlviii). The translation is followed by A List of Useful Books for Reference (243-245), and an Index (247-259).

In connection with the Bibliography several minor matters may be noted. Adolph Roemer's edition of the Rhetoric, in the Teubner Text Series, published originally in 1885, appeared in a revised form in 1898 (this was reprinted in 1923). It should be added that in the volume of The Loeb Classical Library (1927) which contains W. Rhys Roberts's translation of Demetrius, On Style, there are also translations, by W. Hamilton Fyfe, of Aristotle, Poetics, and of Longinus, On the Sublime. There was a second edition of R. C. Jebb's book, The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus, in 1893. Likewise, E. Norden's Die Antike Kunstprosa has appeared in a second edition (1915–1918).

We turn now to the translation itself. It may be said at once that Professor Cooper's rendering is uniformly accurate and reliable. It is far superior, in my opinion, to that of Freese, in which there are many inaccuracies and infelicities. Compare, for example, the following places where Freese is wrong and Professor Cooper is right (the italics are mine): 1.4.13 & wr... άποτρέπειν, Freese, "sources...for...discussion", Cooper "slaves", "dissuading"; 1.5.3 σωμάτων, Freese, Cooper, "persons"; 1.9.10 έλευθεριότης δέ περί χρήματα εδ ποιητική, Freese, "Liberality does good in many matters", Cooper, "Liberality is the virtue tending to confer pecuniary benefits"; 3.1.9 λέγοντες εὐήθη, Freese, "their utterances were devoid of sense", Cooper, "their thoughts were not profound"; 3.3.3 drrfumor, Freese, "counter-initiative", Cooper, "counter-mimic"; 3.5.4 peraxice, Freese, "takes in", Cooper, "imposes on".

It is not surprising that in minor matters in connection with so ambitious an undertaking as Professor Cooper's translation one may express doubt or dissent. I note some instances of this sort (the italics are mine; the references are to pages).

31.—"Listing things one by one, we see that the following must be goods..." seems inelegant; compare Roberts, "The following is a more detailed list of things that must be good..."

45.—"...persuasions are effected not only by argumentative speaking..."; Roberts renders more exactly by "...rhetorical persuasion is effected not only by demonstrative argument..."

205.—The Greek verse quoted from the Iliad (9.526) and the Greek verse quoted from an uncertain author are, through oversights, not translated.

206.—"Would it be very shocking ...?", is an inaccurate translation of τί ἀν ἔπαθες δεινὸν...;

240.-In 3.18.7 Aristotle speaks very briefly concerning jests (περί τῶν γελοίων). He says that 'some jests are becoming to a gentleman, some are not. See that you choose such as are becoming to you <δπως οὖν τὸ ἀρμόττον αὐτφ λήψεται, apparently not translated by Professor Cooper>. Irony is more becoming to the gentleman than buffoonery...' The final sentence of the chapter, ὁ μέν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα ποιεῖ τὸ γελοΐον, ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἐτέρον, is curiously mistranslated, it seems to me, by Professor Cooper, thus: "...the jests of the ironical man are at his own expense; the buffoon excites laughter at others". Freese renders loosely and ambiguously by "... Irony is more gentlemanly than buffoonery; for the first is employed on one's own account, the second on that of another". Roberts gives the exact sense: "... The ironical man jokes to amuse himself, the buffoon to amuse other

Finally, it may be of interest to quote, for comparison, the versions of a typical passage (3.1.1-2) given by (1) Jebb, (2) Freese, (3) Roberts, and (4) Cooper.

(1) There are three subjects of rhetorical inquiry,—first, as regards the sources of the proofs,—secondly, as regards the style,—thirdly, as to the order in which the parts of the speech are to be placed. We have spoken of the proofs, and of their several sources, showing that these are three in number,—showing, too, of what kind they are, and why their number is not larger,—viz. because all men are persuaded either by some affection of their own minds, when they are the judges, or by conceiving the speakers to be of a certain character, or by a demonstration.

Enthymemes, also, have been spoken of, and the sources from which they must be provided,—these being, on the one hand, the special commonplaces of enthymemes, on the other, the general commonplaces.

We have next to speak of Diction; for it is not enough to know what we are to say;—we must say it in the right way:—this contributes much toward determining the character of the speech....

(2). There are three things which require special attention in regard to speech: first, the sources of proofs; secondly, style; and thirdly, the arrangement of the parts of the speech. We have already spoken of proofs and stated that they are three in number, what is their nature, and why there are only three; for in all cases persuasion is the result either of the judges themselves being affected in a certain manner, or because they consider the speakers to be of a certain character, or because something has been demonstrated. We

English Under the Editorship of W. D. Ross (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924); John Henry Preese. Aristotle With an English Translation. The "Art" of Rhetoric (The Loeb Classical Library, London, William Heineman, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926).

It may be noted that Professor Roberts's rendering is admirable.

have also stated the sources from which enthymemes should be derived—some of them being special, the

others general commonplaces.

We have therefore next to speak of style; for it is not sufficient to know what one ought to say, but one must also know how to say it, and this largely contributes to making the speech appear of a certain character....

(3) In making a speech one must study three points: first, the means of producing persuasion; second, the style, or language, to be used; third, the proper arrangement of the various parts of the speech. We have already specified the sources of persuasion. We have shown that these are three in number; what they are; and why there are only these three; for we have shown that persuasion must in every case be effected either (1) by working on the emotions of the judges themselves, (2) by giving them the right impression of the speakers' character, or (3) by proving the truth of the statements made.

Enthymemes also have been described, and the sources from which they should be derived; there being both special and general lines of argument for

enthymemes.

Our next subject will be the style of expression. For it is not enough to know what we ought to say; we must also say it as we ought; much help is thus afforded towards producing the right impression of a speech....

(4) 3.1. [STYLE] The provinces of study which concern the making of a speech are three: (1) the means of effecting persuasion; (2) the style [language, diction]; (3) the right ordering of the several divisions of the whole. We have already dealt with the sources of persuasion, and have shown that they are three in number [1.2, pp. 8-11]. We have explained their nature, and have shown why there are but these three; for we have seen that persuasion can be effected only (1) by working on the emotions of the audience [judges], or (2) by giving the audience the right impression of the speaker's character, or (3) by convincing them all with proof.

Enthymemes have also been discussed, with the sources from which they must be derived, these sources being either the special or the common topoi for en-

thymemes.

[Books I and 2 deal with the first of the three provinces of study. We come, then, to the second—that is, lexis, the way in which the thoughts of the speaker are expressed; by lexis is meant everything that has to do with expression—choice of words, syntax, and delivery!

We have next to treat of Diction [i. e., Style, and the like]; since it is not enough to know what to say—one must also know how to say it. The right way of doing this contributes much to the right impression of a

Speech.... Columbia University

LARUE VAN HOOK

Third-Year Latin: Cicero and other Prose Writers. Selected and Edited, with Introductions, Explanatory Notes, Grammatical Outline, Exercises in Prose Composition, Word Lists, and Vocabulary. By Karl P. Harrington and Walter V. McDuffee. Boston, Ginn and Company (1929). Pp. lxvii + 542 + 140.

Adequate Introductions are a feature of the newer text-books in Latin, and the volume here under review, Third-Year Latin, by Messrs. Harrington and McDuffee, furnishes no exception to the practice. The lives of the authors from whose works excerpts are given are briefly and clearly presented. The sections on the government of Rome in Cicero's day should give the conscientious pupil a fairly clear idea of the political history of the time.

The greater part of the selections is, as it should be, from Cicero. But why the Cicero selections (132 pages, to be exact) should open with an extensive group from various of his philosophical works instead of with selections from the Orations I cannot imagine. Not even the most interesting portions of Cicero's writings in the field of philosophy are likely to be of thrilling interest to the boys and the girls for whom these selections are intended. A boy of sixteen gets very little 'kick' out of contemplating the pleasures of old age. The Orations given are actually placed to follow selections from Livy, Pliny, and Sallust (these, in the order named, fill 152 pages). Then come the old stand-bys among the Orations, in line with the best classical traditions. These Orations should have been placed first. I see no reason whatever for the inclusion of the selections from Ekkehart, which are not even written in pure Latin. Latin which requires a glossary of its queer forms (e. g. michi = mihi, etc.) is wholly out of place for children. This portion of the text might better have been omitted, and the space thus gained might better have been devoted to more—many more-of the delightful Letters. The Outline of Grammar is admirable both in the ground covered and in the phrasing of the presentation. A fine feature is that the examples given are real sentences culled from the text of Latin authors and properly located. The Vocabulary is clear and informative as to etymology-though not as to usage-, and the word-lists are a necessary evil for which the authors are not to be criticised. The lists were forced on them.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

B. W. MITCHELL

Latin—Fourth Year. By Harry Edwin Burton and Richard Mott Gummere. Newark, New Jersey: Silver, Burdett, and Company (1931). Pp. lv + 439 + 105.

The Classical Investigation of the American Classical League resembled an operation on the appendix when the diagnosis should have indicated a mild case of in-After the operation a diet of table d'hôte variety, including salad and dessert, was forced upon the poor classical patient in replacement of a diet consisting of a few standard and nourishing dishes. The maxim non multa sed multum was ignored. Before the ink on the Report of the Investigation was dry, many a manuscript along the new lines was ready for the printer. In my opinion, harm was done to the cause of the Classics. The first text-books issued in conformity to the dicta of the investigators were radical in the extreme. One might almost say that pictures took the place of paradigms. Every possible device was adopted to obviate the necessity for study and concentration. 'Roman Life' was substituted for Roman Latin as the chief end of man, classically speak-

More recent publications exhibit a gradual return to basic principles. Of these later books Messrs. Burton and Gummere have given us, in Latin—Fourth Year, one of the best. Vergil's writings furnish the pièce de résistance of the text, 298 out of 433 pages. Books 1-4

and 6 of the Aeneid are given practically entire; there are extensive selections from the later books and from the Bucolics and the Georgics. This is as it should be; for style-sense cannot be cultivated from a pot pourri of selections from many authors, interesting though these may be. I thoroughly approve the selections from the Odes of Horace, and regret that more of these Odes were not given, to the exclusion of much of the other material.

The Introduction is admirable. The list of reference works is embarrassingly complete. Some of them would prove rather ponderous reading for mere adolescents. The pupil who delves into them all—if there be any such pupil—will surely exclaim cui bono? (if he chances to know that much Latin) when he seeks to fathom their application to the text in hand. The notes are beyond praise—adequate, helpful, literary. The quotations from English poetry are especially felicitous. But I fear that the chief use to which the sub-text definitions of Latin words of the text will be put will be an excuse to shirk a decent use of the Vocabulary. The Vocabulary suffers from compression. Etymological data and reference to the usages of many words would have added materially to its value.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

B. W. MITCHELL

#### A LATIN AND AN ENGLISH LOVE-LYRIC

There are disappointed lovers in Roman comedy who will follow the lost love to the ends of the earth (Plautus, Mercator 858-863; Terence, Phormio 551-552, Adelphoi 274-275). The fullest expression of this is in the Mercator. In that play Charinus adulescens, amator, announces to his friend Eutychus his intention to leave the country (643-648, 658-660); he bids a sad farewell to his home and his country (830-841); he sings in trochaic septenarii his determination to follow his love (858-863. I give Lindsav's text, but do not follow him in details of capitalization and punctuation):

Certa rest

me usque quaerere illam quoquo hinc abductast gentium,

neque mihi ulla opsistet amnis nec mons neque adeo mare

nec calor nec frigus metuo neque ventum neque grandinem;

imbrem perpetiar, laborem sufferam, solem, sitim; non concedam neque quiescam usquam noctu neque dius

priu' profecto quam ut amicam aut mortem investi-

The idea is, of course, a commonplace of love—even of friendship (Catullus II.I-I4; Horace, Epodes I.II-I4, Carmina 2.6.I-4), but it is interesting to see that the tone and the expression of the Plautine love-lyric find a parallel in the first stanza of the anonymous seventeenth century lyric entitled Love Will Find Out the Way:

Over the mountains
And over the waves,
Under the fountains
And under the graves;
Under floods that are deepest,
Which Neptune obey;
Over rocks that are steepest
Love will find out the way.

MACMURRAY COLLEGE, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

MARY JOHNSTON

#### SELF-EDUCATION

When his friend Fuscus asked Pliny the Younger to make suggestions for study in the country, Pliny answered in the well-known letter (7.9), advising translation from Latin to Greek and the reverse (2), paraphrasing of authors read (3), careful revision (5, 6), oratorical (7) and historical composition and letterwriting (8), and, for relaxation, the composition of light verse (9-14).

An interesting parallel to part of this is found in the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin¹ (I quote from a pocket edition, by John Bigelow [New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons: undated]). Franklin tells (23) how he trained himself in "...prose writing <which> has been of great use to me in the course of life, and was a principal means of my advancement..." He was delighted with the style of the Spectator, of which he found an odd volume (25), and which he trained himself to imitate. His vocabulary, he thought, had suffered from the lack of the poetical composition (25) which Pliny advised (7.9.9–14), but which Franklin's father had discouraged (23). On his imitation of papers in the Spectator he says (26): "...By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think that I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extreamly ambitious..."

As Pliny had said (3),... Nihil offuerit quae legeris hactenus ut rem argumentumque teneas quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre, ac sedulo pensitare quid tu, quid ille commodius. Magna gratulatio si non nulla tu, magnus pudor, si cuncta ille melius....

MACMURRAY COLLEGE, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

MARY JOHNSTON

#### CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS<sup>1</sup>

III

Metropolitan Museum Studies-Volume IV, Part One (1932), Boeotian Orientalizing Lekanai, Annie D. Ure [the article is accompanied by thirty photographic illustrations]; A Polychrome Vase from Centuripe, Gisela M. A. Richter ["Addendum to Met. Mus. Stud., volume II, part 2, pages 187-205", with fourteen photographic illustrations and one color collotype]; A Greek Sword Sheath from South Russia, Gisela M. A. Richter ["... We may date our gold sheath, then, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C., when Greek art was still at the height of its development, and tentatively assign it to an artist who, as a result of the Peloponnesian War, had left his native city and found employment far away with a Scythian chieftain..." The article is accompanied by twentyseven illustrations and two maps].

The Nation—April 6, Review, favorable, anonymous, of Shaemus O'Sheel, Sophokles: Antigone, A New Redaction in the American Language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;'This note may be compared with parts of Dr. R. M. Gummere's paper, Socrates at the Printing Press: Benjamin Franklin and the Classics, The CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.57-59. C. K.>. 
'Triles of periodicals are given exactly, i.e. the word "An" or "The", if it is a part of a title, is given. However, in the determination of the place of an item in the alphabetical sequence, the word "An" or "The" is disregarded. C. K.>

- La Nature—March, Les Peintures, F. Pupil [Les Peintures Grasses; Les Origines de la Peinture Grasse; L'Encaustique; Les Siccatifs; Les Peintures Céramiques; Comparaison des Procédés. Six photographic illustrations accompany the text]; Réhabilitation d'un Insecte; La Cigale, E. Biagini [this is a defense of the cicala against the charge of indolence, as made in LaFontaine's fable, La Cigale et la Fourmi; mention is made of passages in Aristophanes, Aristotle, Anacreon, and Vergil].
- The New York Times Magazine—September 18, Ghosts That Wander in Herculaneum: Excavations in the Buried City Give a Picture of its Ancient Life, Arnaldo Cortesi [with three illustrations].
- The Proceedings of the British Academy—Volume XVIII (1932), Cicero, Tenney Frank [Annual Lecture on a Master Mind: Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy, June 8, 1932. "It is not by reason of any one penetrating idea or of any one supreme act that Cicero's name receives attention today....It is the breadth and scope of all his work rather than the depth or height of any one idea that calls for attention. Perhaps it would be fairer to speak of him as a pervading force in the world than as a master mind"].
- The Quarterly Journal of Speech—April, Review, favorable, by Everett Hunt, of Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle: An Expanded Translation with Supplementary Examples for Students of Composition and Public Speaking; June, Interpretative Reading in Ancient Greece, Eugene Bahn ["...In ancient Greece, where interpretative reading was so vital a part of religion and culture, the spoken word, as uttered by a human being, was all-powerful and all-important....The spoken word was then in such high standing that it was accepted as the truth in preference to the written word..." The article discusses the ballad-dance, rhapsodes, and ancient drama].
- The Quarterly Review—April, The Cambridge Ancient History, G. B. Grundy [this is a long general critique of Volumes I-VII, not universally favorable. "All that has been attempted here is to suggest certain omissions, and to criticise certain views on questions which are at the present time of special interest to readers...But, when all is said, the work is in scope and excellence far in advance of any previous attempt which has been made, in the English language at any rate, to give a comprehensive history of antiquity"]; Short review, favorable, anonymous, of G. Lowes Dickinson, Plato and His Dialogues; July, Short

- review, favorable, anonymous, of Ulrich Wilcken, Alexander the Great (the English translation).
- Religion in Life—Winter Number (1932), Recent Excavations and Bible Study, Ovid R. Sellers; Autumn Number, The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel (Is it Jewish, Greek, or What?), Dudley Tyng ["The basis of our gospel is solidly Jewish...Our author, I take it, was a Jewish Christian mystic of the intellectualistic sort, who, nevertheless, owedlittle to the Greeks and much to the Hebrews, particularly to that Hebrew of the Hebrews, Saul of Tarsus"].
- The <London> Saturday Review—February 20, Review, generally favorable, by D. Willoughby, of Caesar de Vesme, Peoples of Antiquity; March 12, Review, generally favorable, anonymous, of William Ridgeway, The Early Age of Greece, Volume II (edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. S. Robertson); April 9, Review, favorable, by Shane Leslie, of G. R. G. Mure, Leaders of Philosophy: Aristotle; April 30, Review, favorable, by F. J. Kittermaster, of L. W. Lyde, A Patchwork from Pindar (With an English Translation in Verse).
- The Saturday Review of Literature-April 2, Review, favorable, by Donald Oenslager, of Allardyce Nicoll, Masks, Mimes, and Miracles; April 9, Review, favorable, by J. H. Bradley, of Charles Singer, The Story of Living Things; Review, very favorable, by A. D. Nock, of Martin P. Nilsson, The Mycenaean Origins of Greek Mythology; The Study of Latin, W. B. Skerrye [a brief discussion of values]; April 23, Review, unfavorable, by E. R. Goodenough, of Hermann Schneider, The History of World Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages (two volumes); April 30, O'Neill and Aeschylus, John Corbin ["In 'Mourning Becomes Electra' very little is to be found of either Aeschylus or Sophocles, except indeed the great length of their trilogies. The normal human horror at incest becomes an interestingly Freudian libido. The upstanding manhood of Orestes, his hard-fought battle for spiritual release, becomes a weak-kneed and neurotic pessimism ending in suicide. Electra herself is so tainted in mind that she wilfully renounces escape to the brighter world and closes all doors and shutters, the more deeply to enjoy the gloom of the House of Mannon"]; Review, favorable, by A. R. Bellinger, of Auguste Couat, Alexandrian Poetry under the First Three Ptolemies (translated by James Loeb), and of Edwin Bevan, The Poems of Leonidas of Tarentum (Text and Translations).

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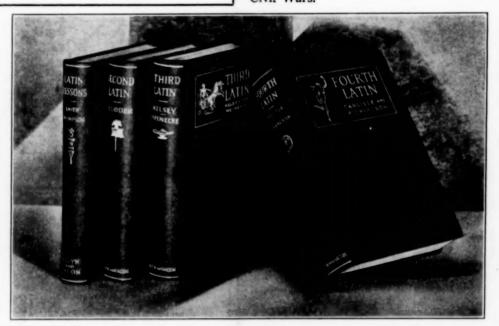
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